

Message Text

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 03 USUN NEW YORK 01733

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PORG, UNGA, UNSC, WA, SF, MZ
SUBJECT: NAMIBIA: SECRETARY VANCE'S MEETING WITH
MOZAMBICAN MINISTER OF STATE MONTEIRO

REF: USUN 1732

SUMMARY: FOLLOWING DRAFT SUMMARY OF SECRETARY VANCE'S
DISCUSSION OF NAMIBIA APRIL 30 WITH MOZAMBICAN MINISTER
OF STATE MONTEIRO AND PARTY IS TRANSMITTED FOR THE
DEPARTMENT'S REVIEW AND FURTHER DISTRIBUTION AS
DESIRED. END SUMMARY.

1. SECRETARY VANCE MET FOR ABOUT AN HOUR APRIL 30 IN
NEW YORK WITH MOZAMBICAN MINISTER OF STATE JOSE OSCAR
MONTEIRO TO DISCUSS THE PRESENT STATE OF PLAY ON THE
NAMIBIAN QUESTION. ALSO PRESENT WERE SERGIO VIEIRA,
GOVERNOR OF THE CENTRAL BANK OF MOZAMBIQUE AND FOREIGN
POLICY ADVISER TO PRESIDENT MACHEL, AND UN PERMREP LOBO.
ON THE AMERICAN SIDE AMBASSADOR YOUNG, AMBASSADOR
MCHENRY, DEPTUY ASSISTANT SECRETARY HARROP AND POLMIN
PETREE ALSO PARTICIPATED.

2. SECRETARY VANCE OPENED THE DISCUSSION BY UNDER-
SCORING THE IMPORTANCE OF MOVING FORWARD TOWARD ELEC-
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TIONS AND INDEPENDENCE IN NAMIBIA, THE TRAGEDY FOR
NAMIBIA AND THE WORLD IF OUR EFFORT FAILS AND THE
POLITICAL IMPORTANCE TO THE U.S. OF SUCCESS IN OUR
INITIATIVE.

3. MONTEIRO SAID HE WAS FULLY AWARE OF THE POLITICAL
STAKES FOR WHICH WE ARE WORKING. HE BELIEVES THAT THE

NAMIBIAN PROBLEM IS NOT IN SUCH BAD SHAPE, OVERALL, ALTHOUGH THERE REMAIN SOME POINTS OF CONCERN TO MOZAMBIQUE AS TO SWAPO. SEVERAL OF THE ISSUES REMAINING ARE NOT OF FUNDAMENTAL IMPORTANCE, BUT WALVIS BAY UNQUESTIONABLY IS FUNDAMENTAL TO ANY SETTLEMENT. HE SAID MOZAMBIQUE FEELS STRONGLY ON THIS ISSUE AND BELIEVES IT WOULD BE HARD TO SETTLE THE NAMIBIAN QUESTION WITHOUT ALSO RESOLVING WALVIS BAY SATISFACTORILY. HE ASKED HOW FAR THE U.S. AND THE GROUP OF FIVE ARE ABLE TO GO TOWARD MEETING THE REQUIREMENTS ON WALVIS BAY, WHETHER WE ARE READY TO SUPPORT A CLEAR STATEMENT IN THE SECURITY COUNCIL.

4. SECRETARY VANCE REFERRED TO THE CLARIFYING STATEMENT WE HAVE INFORMED SWAPO WE WOULD BE WILLING TO MAKE PUBLICLY. HE SAID THE U.S. CANNOT MAKE A FLAT STATEMENT THAT WALVIS BAY IS AN INTEGRAL PART OF NAMIBIA, BUT WE ARE WILLING TO MAKE OUR POSITION ON EVENTUAL SOLUTION THROUGH NEGOTIATIONS CLEAR AND WORK FOR THAT POSITION DURING NEGOTIATIONS. AS FAR AS ACTION IN THE SECURITY COUNCIL IS CONCERNED, HE SAID THAT WOULD DEPEND ON THE LANGUAGE OF ANY COUNCIL RESOLUTION OR STATEMENT. AMBASSADOR YOUNG ASKED WHETHER IT WOULD ASSIST IN REASSURING THE AFRICANS IF THERE WERE A U.S. OR WESTERN STATEMENT TO THE EFFECT THAT SOUTH AFRICAN ACTION TO CLOSE WALVIS BAY OR OTHERWISE PRESSURE NAMIBIA DURING

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THE NEGOTIATIONS WOULD PROMPT WESTERN SUPPORT FOR CHAPTER VII ACTION BY THE COUNCIL. AMBASSADOR MCHENRY SAID ANY ACTION ALONG THESE LINES WOULD HAVE TO BE SEPARATE IN THE SECURITY COUNCIL FROM ACTION ON THE WESTERN PROPOSAL ITSELF, SINCE WE CANNOT NOW AMEND THE BASIC PROPOSAL WE HAVE PUT FORWARD. IT MIGHT BE POSSIBLE, HOWEVER, TO FORMULATE SOMETHING WHICH RECOGNIZED THE NEED FOR LATER NEGOTIATIONS ON WALVIS BAY, ACKNOWLEDGES THE DE JURE RESPONSIBILITY OF THE SYG'S SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE FOR WALVIS BAY BUT ALSO THE DE FACTO IMPOSSIBILITY OF HIS EXERCISING THAT AUTHORITY WITHIN THE ENCLAVE FOR THE PRESENT, AND SETS FORTH THE VIEW OF THE COUNCIL ON THE CONSEQUENCES OF ANY EFFORT BY SOUTH AFRICA TO CLOSE THE PORT AT WALVIS BAY PENDING NEGOTIATIONS ON THE EVENTUAL STATUS OF THE AREA. HE RECALLED THAT VIEIRA HAD REFERRED IN AN EARLIER MEETING TO THE GENERAL POSSIBILITY OF A TWO-RESOLUTION APPROACH IN THE COUNCIL.

5. VIEIRA SAID HE THOUGHT SUCH A TWO-RESOLUTION FORMULATION MAY OFFER POSSIBILITIES. HE UNDERSTOOD THAT OUR REACTION WOULD DEPEND HEAVILY ON THE WORDING, BUT

HE COULD CONCEIVE OF A RESOLUTION WHICH DESCRIBED THE ETHNIC, CULTURAL, GEOGRAPHICAL, ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL BASIS FOR CONSIDERING WALVIS BAY A PART OF NAMIBIA, TOOK NO JURIDICAL POSITION IN LIGHT OF THE HISTORICAL DEBATE, BUT ENDED WITH SECURITY COUNCIL SUPPORT FOR A NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT OF THE QUESTION BETWEEN SOUTH AFRICA AND INDEPENDENT NAMIBIA. IT WOULD OF COURSE BE IMPORTANT TO HAVE A CLEAR PRIOR AGREEMENT THAT BOTH MEASURES WOULD BE PASSED BY THE COUNCIL MORE OR LESS SIMULTANEOUSLY. HE ADDED THAT, EITHER IN THE RESOLUTION OR IN THE WESTERN STATEMENT ON THE RECORD OF THE COUNCIL, IT WOULD HAVE TO BE CLEAR THAT WALVIS BAY CANNOT BE USED AS A THREAT AGAINST NAMIBIA IN ANY WAY. SECRETARY VANCE COMMENTED THAT ANY EXPLICIT MENTION OF CHAPTER VII POSSI-
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BILITIES WOULD RISK LOSING SOME SUPPORTERS FOR THE

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RESOLUTION.

6. MCHENRY SAID WE NEED TO GET SWAPO'S AGREEMENT TO SUCH A PROPOSAL AND ITS WILLINGNESS TO MOVE AHEAD IN THE COUNCIL WITH EXPECTATION THAT THE COUNCIL WILL TAKE UP WALVIS BAY LATER. HE SAID NUJOMA'S INSISTENCE ON AGREEMENT ON ALL PARTS OF THE PACKAGE BEFORE CONSENTING TO IMPLEMENTATION WILL KILL CHANCES FOR A SETTLEMENT.

VIEIRA SAID HE THOUGHT NUJOMA'S SPEECH IN THE GA WAS HARDLY MORE NEGATIVE THAN VORSTER'S STATEMENTS ACCOMPANYING SOUTH AFRICAN ACCEPTANCE OF THE WESTERN FIVE PROPOSAL. HE AGREED THAT WALVIS BAY IS THE PRINCIPAL REMAINING PROBLEM, AND OBSERVED THAT NUJOMA HAS NEVER SAID EXPLICITLY THAT HE MUST HAVE COMPLETE SETTLEMENT OF WALVIS BAY TO AGREE TO THE PROPOSAL.

7. MONTEIRO SAID HE THOUGHT SAM'S REJECTION OF THE STATEMENT ON WALVIS BAY PROFFERED BY THE U.S. WAS MORE A MATTER OF LANGUAGE THAN FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLE. THE SECRETARY STRESSED THAT, WHILE WE MIGHT BE ABLE TO WORK WITH WORDS A BIT MORE, THE SUBSTANCE OF THE STATEMENT WE HAVE PROPOSED IS AS FAR AS WE CAN GO.

8. VIEIRA RAISED THE "TAKE-IT-OR-LEAVE-IT" MANNER IN
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WHICH WE HAD PUT FORWARD THE WESTERN PROPOSAL. MCHENRY EXPLAINED THAT NUJOMA IS RAISING AGAIN FUNDAMENTAL ISSUES THAT HAVE BEEN EXHAUSTIVELY AND REPEATEDLY DISCUSSED WITH BOTH OF THE PARTIES. OUR NEGOTIATIONS, IN FACT, HAVE COME TO THE POINT WHERE WE JUDGED FURTHER CHANGES IN THE PROPOSAL ARE IMPOSSIBLE WITHOUT RUINING THE BALANCE OF THE NEGOTIATED AGREEMENT. WHILE CIRCUMSTANCES MAY CHANGE, AND THE PASSAGE OF TIME MAY OFFER POSSIBILITIES OF AMENDMENT OF THE PROPOSAL, WE FEEL NOW IS THE BEST CHANCE TO GET AGREEMENT AND MOVE FORWARD TOWARD SETTLEMENT.

9. VIEIRA MENTIONED THE PROBLEM OF THE STATUS AND MANDATE OF THE SYG'S SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE, REFERRING TO VORSTER'S STATEMENT CALLING INTO QUESTION THE SUPERIOR CONTROL OF THE UN REP IN NAMIBIA. MCHENRY REVIEWED THE SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE'S NEGATIVE VETO POWER THAT IS IMPLICIT IN THE FORMULATION OF THE PROPOSAL, AND ADDED THAT THE PRESENCE OF SIGNIFICANT NUMBERS OF UN TROOPS TO BACK HIM UP FURTHER STRENGTHENS THE CERTAINTY THAT HE CAN ENSURE A FREE AND FAIR ENVIRONMENT FOR THE POLITICAL PROCESS. AMBASSADOR YOUNG POINTED OUT THAT THE INTRODUCTION OF THE UN SPECIAL REP AND TROOPS WILL FUNDAMENTALLY CHANGE THE SITUATION, AS IT HAS IN SOUTHERN LEBANON.

10. VIEIRA ASKED HOW FAR WE WOULD BACK THE SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE, AND SECRETARY VANCE ANSWERED, "ALL THE WAY." HE SAID WE ARE COMMITTED TO A SETTLEMENT AND ARE NOT GOING TO SEE THE EFFORT FAIL. WE ARE DETERMINED TO ENSURE SECURITY FOR THE POLITICAL PROCESS. MCHENRY EMPHASIZED THAT UNDER THE WESTERN PLAN THE SECRETARY-

GENERAL WOULD SET HIS REQUIRED TROOP LEVEL, WHICH WE ARE
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COMMITTED TO SUPPORT.

11. MONTEIRO RAISED ANOTHER QUESTION WHICH THE MOZAM-
BICANS HAD CONSIDERED IN LIGHT OF THEIR OWN EXPERIENCE
DURING THE TRANSITION TO INDEPENDENCE FROM PORTUGUESE
RULE. THAT WAS THE CONTROL OF SUBSTANTIAL ARMS IN THE
HANDS OF PRIVATE CITIZENS. HE AND VIEIRA INSISTED THAT
IT WOULD NOT BE ENOUGH SIMPLY TO DISARM ORGANIZED
MILITIA; THE PROBLEM IS THAT INDIVIDUAL CITIZENS, ESPECI-
ALLY THE WHITES, HAVE ACCUMULATED MANY ARMS, INCLUDING
AUTOMATIC, AND UNLESS THEY ARE REQUIRED TO REGISTER OR
TURN THEM IN THERE IS LIKELY TO BE TROUBLE DURING THE
TRANSITION IN NAMIBIA. THE SECRETARY SUGGESTED THAT THIS
IS THE KIND OF PROBLEM THAT SHOULD BE HANDLED BY THE
ADMINISTRATOR GENERAL AND THE SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE.
A SYSTEM OF "TWO-MEN-IN-A-JEEP" WILL ALSO HELP IN
CONTROLLING THIS PROBLEM.

12. AMBASSADOR YOUNG SUGGESTED THAT, SINCE SOUTH
AFRICA IS CONCERNED THAT SWAPO MAY NOT BE STRONG ENOUGH
TO PREVENT THE SOVIET UNION FROM USING WALVIS BAY AS A
NAVAL BASE AND SOUTH AFRICA ALSO WANTS TO ENSURE
COMMERCIAL POSSIBILITIES WITH NAMIBIA THROUGH WALVIS BAY,
MOZAMBIQUE MIGHT USEFULLY TALK WITH SWAPO ABOUT MOZAM-
BIQUE'S EXPERIENCE IN MAINTAINING SOUTH AFRICAN RELATIONS
DURING THE TRANSITION PERIOD. THE OBJECT WOULD BE TO
PAINT THE WALVIS BAY PROBLEM FOR SWAPO IN PRACTICAL,
RATHER THAN POLITICAL OR EMOTIONAL TERMS.

13. MCHENRY ASKED IF THE MOZAMBICANS BELIEVE SWAPO
WANTS A SETTLEMENT OF THE NAMIBIAN PROBLEM. VIEIRA
TURNED THE QUESTION, ASKING WHETHER SOUTH AFRICA WANTS A
SETTLEMENT; TO WHICH THE SECRETARY RESPONDED FIRMLY THAT
THEY DO. VIEIRA GAVE HIS VIEW THAT SOUTH AFRICA ACCEPTED
THE WESTERN PROPOSAL ONLY TO BE ABLE TACTICALLY TO
INFLUENCE THE COURSE OF THE SPECIAL SESSION OF THE GA ON
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NAMIBIA. AMBASSADOR YOUNG SAID THE SITUATION IN NAMIBIA
CLEARLY IS DETERIORATING AND IS LIKELY TO DEGENERATE
RAPIDLY HENCEFORTH. HE URGED THAT FOR THIS REASON WE
ARE UNDER A SEVERE PRESSURE OF TIME.

14. SECRETARY VANCE BROUGHT THE DISCUSSION TO A CLOSE
BY STRESSING HIS VIEW THAT WE ARE AT A WATERSHED ON
NAMIBIA. WE NEED TO MOVE URGENTLY TO CLARIFY CERTAIN
THINGS WITH SWAPO, THOUGH ON WALVIS BAY WE HAVE NO MORE
WE CAN SAY. WE ALSO NEED TO CONSIDER WITH EVERYONE
INVOLVED A VIABLE SECURITY COUNCIL SCENARIO. ABOVE ALL,
WE MUST NOT LET UP IN OUR DRIVE TO GET A SOLUTION OF THE
PROBLEM. YOUNG

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